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CICERO'S JUDGMENT ON LUCRETIOUS

BY HENRY WHEATLAND LITCHFIELD

THE Consular was in a hurry. His densest caller had seen that. But the hand that rummaged through the crowded *pluteus* failed to produce the missing formulary; in its stead, the file revealed a page of Egyptian papyrus, inscribed in a high, square, unmistakable character. There were not many lines upon the paper:

*Unde abeunt minuunt, quo venere augmine donant,
nec remorantur ibi; sic rerum summa novatur
semper, et inter se mortales mutua vivont.
Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.*

The Consular leaned back in his great chair. His look clouded. What a bright, high-spirited young fellow it had been! how frank and devoted, how good-naturedly impatient of a city's restraints! — all this, until the sad, utter change, that change which the Consular had never really understood; life had been for him since but a recurrence of the one wild, exalted, unearthly mood, triumphing over every material barrier, and hurrying him away to fastnesses of the forests or the unutterable hills; moods, whose lightest speech was prophecy, interspersed with an apathy and despondence cruel to look upon. Every one had been glad it was over; but how little they dreamed what treasure of golden words he was leaving them! The Consular was glad to have borne his part in the ordering of it. How many moments he recalled of pleasant conversation with the boy! Perhaps they had had some share in helping to the great Poem! He would go back to them with satisfaction, many times, in the years that remained.

But today he was busy. Gradually there came again into his look the half impatience of one vainly seeking to put off some bit of social duty, trifling but importunate. Perhaps he thought of the Tyrian commissioners down in the new-old Basilica, conning Lucius Paulus's masonry, not patiently waiting his good offices with the Consul Domitius. Or was it a client's appointment, to be met at the fifth hour without fail, by the bathing-pool in Lentulus's gardens, far out on the Flaminia?

Perhaps he was eager to get back to the half-finished brief. And there was no news, or next to nothing. And always there it lay, refusing to be smothered under the heaped ledgers and parchments, accusation welling up in every one of the deep, clean-drawn incisions—Quintus's last letter, full of the simple living and smoke and tiresomeness of the hill towns; pleading, rallying, commanding, with generous infusions of a certain brotherly kind of Billingsgate, which the older man understood well enough; and all to the one purpose: why had he not written? what was Rome doing? The appeal was strong with the strength of a great affection. Cicero was not the man to resist it. He caught up the tablets and wrote:—

"Marcus to Quintus my brother, greeting.

"These lines are sent in deference to the strong language of your late note; as for the matter in hand, or the events of the day of your leaving, there's little enough to write. But I remember chatting together we seldom run out of topics: perhaps our letters also may be excused for rambling once in a while.

"So here you are: [*item*] Tenedos has had its independence lopped off with a Tenedos hatchet; the sole protests came from Bibulus, Calpurnius, Favonius, and myself. [*item*] Magnesia by Sipylus has given you honorable mention, declaring you were the only one who opposed the demands made upon the city by Lucius Pansa. [*item*] For the days that are still left, if there's anything you ought to know, or what's more, if there isn't anything, still I'll write you something every single day. [*item*] I'll make sure to stand by you and Atticus the fourteenth. [*item*] Lucretius' poem,¹ as you write, shows many flashes of inspiration, yet nevertheless much art. But till you come . . . [*item*] Read me Sallust on Empedocles by then, and I'll class you a man indeed; a human being never.

"Rome, February, year of Rome 700."²

Lucreti poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingeni multae tamen artis: sed cum veneris . . . — and these five hundred years³ the

¹ Lucretius' death had occurred a few months previous, October 15, B. C. 55.

² *Ad Q. Fr.*, 2, 9 (11).

³ A MS. of the letters to Quintus was discovered at Verona by Petrarch in 1345. Both this MS. and Petrarch's copy have disappeared. A copy of some Veronese MS.

world has wondered what he meant. For a strange destiny had ordered that in the one brief, off-hand sentence should be comprehended all that future ages, however curious, were to know, save by merest inference, of the regard in which the first of contemporary poets was held by the greatest of all Rome's men of letters, his own literary executor. Critical comment has pages for Cicero's syllables: one may well hesitate to add to the mass of it. If another lance is ventured in lists already over crowded, it is with the hope of suggesting an answer to the riddle not hitherto, so far as I am aware, put forward, and — it seems to me — in our present state of information with regard to Lucretius' life, inevitable.

How shall we construe the phrase *multae tamen artis*? — we should have expected *quoque, etiam*, or the like, rather than *tamen*: "Lucretius' poem displays much inspiration, but *also* much technique"; why then "much inspiration, yet nevertheless much technique"? The MS. reading is that which I have given; so far as we know, it does not necessarily represent a very old tradition;¹ it gave formerly great offence to

was made about 1391 by Pasquino de Capellis for Coluccio Salutato: this is now Mediceus 49, 18 (M). The *editio princeps*, Rome, 1470, gave in our passage: *Lucreti poemata ut scribis lita sunt multis* . . . Victorius, Venice (Junta), 1536, *ut scribis non ita sunt* . . . See *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, by R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, vol. I³, 1904, pp. 101 ff., and E. G. Sihler, *Lucretius and Cicero*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1897 (XXVIII), p. 43.

¹ On the history of the principal source of the text, see above, p. 148, n. 3. Syntactical doubts of its correctness, based on the abrupt shift from ablative to genitive of description, in itself not without parallel, must vanish, I think, on examination of the facts of usage, thus formulated by Roby, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, 1874, II, p. 127, § 1309: "The genitive . . . is used rather of the sort and quality; the ablative of the special characteristics and condition. Thus the genitive (and not the ablative) is used of specific measurements of what a thing or person requires, and of the class to which it belongs. The ablative, and not the genitive, is used of the characteristic parts of a thing or person (especially of the bodily parts), and of its temporary state. Both, though in Cicero chiefly the ablative, are used of mental qualities." Cp. Allen and Greenough, *New Latin Grammar*, 1903, p. 213, § 345, note: ". . . In expressions of quality, the genitive or the ablative may be used indifferently. . . . In classic prose, however, the genitive of quality is much less common than the ablative; it is practically confined to expressions of measure or number, to a phrase with *eius*, and to nouns modified by *magnus, maximus, summus*, or *tantus*. In general the Genitive is used rather of *essential*, the Ablative of *special* or *incidental*

scholars; almost everyone "emended" in some way or other — *tamen* was changed to *etiam*, or *non* inserted out of whole cloth, sometimes before *multis*, oftener before *multae*. For upwards of half a century the school of emendators has been steadily losing ground; editors of Cicero and of Lucretius turn their efforts more and more towards explaining the words as they stand in the MS.; so that those scholars who still doubt the text, today find themselves members of a distinguished minority.

That attempts to reinforce or supplement the defence (by Munro,¹ Tyrrell,² and others) of the MS. reading continue to be in order, is shown, as Professor Hendrickson remarks,³ by the persistent scepticism of such critics as Professors F. Marx⁴ and Saintsbury;⁵ but their attitude does not, I think, make imperative, as a preliminary to discussion, the barren and almost hopeless task of collecting and classifying the series of remedies prescribed by successive editors, from the *princeps* to van Leeuwen, who believed emendation inevitable. The text as it stands, it seems clear to me, admits of more than one perfectly reasonable explanation. An impartial reader of the commentaries on the passage must, I think, come to the conclusion that several interpretations of the MS. reading have been offered, any one of them entirely adequate — provided always we grant the commentator in each case a certain quite possible antecedent condition. The difficulty I find, comes in determining which of these suggested conditions actually pre-existed and therefore can have motivated the criticism.

characteristics." Considerations of euphony as well ruled out a genitive *luminum*; these satisfied, Cicero reverts to the natural genitive of essential characteristic.

On the punctuation of the passage — a question which does not materially affect the interpretation of *tamen* — see Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 125, *ad loc.*, and an interesting suggestion by Professor Phillimore, in *The Classical Review*, 1913 (XXVII), pp. 21 f.

¹ *Introductio* to Notes II², 1866, pp. 328 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 125, *ad loc.*

³ *Cicero's Judgment of Lucretius*, in *American Journal of Philology*, 1901 (XXII), p. 438.

⁴ *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1899 (III), p. 536 with n. 1.

⁵ *A History of Criticism*, 1900, vol. I, pp. 214 ff. Professor Saintsbury overlooks what is at least an altogether natural interpretation of *sed cum veneris*, and finds fault with Cicero for not saying more; reads *non multis*, and damns him as a literary critic for denying brilliancy of genius to Lucretius!

It is my purpose in this paper briefly to review proposed interpretations of the text, so far as they have come to my notice, and to mention in passing the condition on which each seems to me to depend for its validity. So far as I am able to see, all except one¹ are based on an uncertainty. In conclusion, I wish to suggest another interpretation which depends on a condition the reality of which is attested. I do not hope to convince any reader that this last explanation is necessarily the right one; but in our present darkness it has, I believe, at least a better chance than the others.

Interpretations which proceed on the assumption that the MS. reading is right, fall apparently into three main classes, according to their understanding of the nature and component parts of the opposition which *tamen* is intended to enforce. The common view is, of course, that *tamen* contrasts *ingeni* with *artis*: this I will take up presently.

I Another view, defended by several scholars² and best set forth by Professor Hendrickson,³ regards *tamen* as corrective of *ita*: Cicero agrees with Quintus (*ut scribis ita sunt*) in so far as to concede to Lucretius *ingenium* (inspiration); he differs from Quintus in ascribing to him *ars* (technique) as well. The whole idea is something as follows: "you are right in recognizing the inspiration of Lucretius' poem — still you should give him credit for considerable technique." Professor Hendrickson suggests in support of his construction the likelihood that Cicero would not be content with repeating in vain his brother's criticism. But when we think of the nature of the letter in which Cicero's pronouncement appears — rapidly written, full of disconnected jottings⁴ — does it not seem perfectly natural that in such a filler, he may merely have summed up a longer discussion transmitted to him by Quintus?

This theory is a good illustration of what I mean by an explanation depending for its validity on a uncertain condition: if we had Quintus's letter with its criticism of Lucretius,⁵ or indeed

¹ See below, p. 156.

² See Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, I, 2³, 1909, p. 42.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 438 f.

⁴ On this aspect of the letter, cp. Sihler, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f.

⁵ This perhaps perished to make room for the reply: cp. *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 9 (11), 1, *codicilli*, and Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 124, *ad loc.*

any independent evidence showing that Quintus denied *ars* (technique) to him, we should then be certain that *multae tamen artis* was a corrective of this judgment, expressing Marcus's own personal opinion as distinguished from his brother's — but we have not! The denial that Lucretius possessed technique is purely a matter of hypothesis; hence this attempt to explain the MS. reading rests on an "uncertain condition" — a rather unlikely one, perhaps, if we have any feeling for Quintus Cicero's reputation as a critic.

II By Polle¹ the passage is thus turned: "*als prorsus ingeniosum könne er das gedicht nicht bezeichnen, müsse aber zugeben, dass viele lumina ingenii darin seien; die kunst aber sei aller ehren werth.*" That is, he would make *tamen* enforce an opposition between *lumina* and *multae artis* — scarcely possible, it would seem to me, much less probable: surely in that case, had Cicero chosen to put stronger emphasis on any part of the phrase other than *artis*, he would have said *merae tamen artis*, or the like, rather than *multae*? clearly, it is an unnatural way of expressing such a thought.

III To return to the usual view of *tamen* — it was put forward much earlier than those just discussed — the view, namely, which makes *tamen* enforce a relation of some kind between *ingeni* and *artis*: it is generally conceded that *tamen* may not be taken as merely equivalent to *etiam* or *quoque*; that when *tamen* conveys the meaning *also*, it conveys the further meaning "*but also*" — that is, an opposition greater or less is in each case implied; there is some ellipsis or abridgement in the expression which motives and justifies *but*.² As to the nature of the opposition in this instance, between *ingeni* and *artis*, the theories are briefly as follows, with the "uncertain conditions" on which they seem to me severally to depend.

¹ *Philologus*, 1867 (XXV), pp. 501 f.

² On *tamen* used in reference to an unexpressed thought, see Polle, *op. cit.*, p. 502; W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Republic*, 1889³, p. 286, n. 1; Harder, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1890 (VII), col. 46; Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. I³, 1904, p. 400 n.; W. A. Merrill, *T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, 1907, p. 18, n. 8; and the authorities cited by these writers.

- III₁ First, *tamen* may be the equivalent of "yet [though this is not so immediately evident]" — "Lucretius' poem, as you write, is characterized by many flashes of inspiration, yet (though this is not so immediately evident) by much technique as well."¹ Quintus must then have expressed the opinion that Lucretius' poem had plenty of technique, but that this was not apparent. Here again, clearly, we have an uncertain condition: I leave open the question whether or not it is probable.
- III₂ Again, we may always presume that Cicero had in mind some such idea as this: "Lucretius' poetic inspiration was as generous a gift as any man might expect from Nature; yet she did not stop with that, she added the ability and the will which fitted him to acquire technique." This frame of mind is perhaps not quite what we should expect from Cicero; but in any case, one would hardly rest content with an explanation which requires so much to be understood, unless he were sure no simple and inevitable underlying thought could be discovered.
- III₃ Open to similar objection is the version of Eduard Norden:² "bei Lukrez ist es das Grosse, dass die Lichter seines Genies so zahlreich sind und er dabei doch sich in der Grenzen strenger Kunstübung hält, φύσις und ἀσκησις verbindet." Norden cites the elder Seneca's pronouncement³ on the declaimer Porcius Latro: *memoria ei natura quidem felix, plurimum tamen arte adiuta* — but in Cicero's comment we find no *quidem*; perhaps, too, one would more naturally expect artistic technique from a poet than a science of mnemonics from the *declamator*.
- III₄ Another such construction is that of Plessis,⁴ who takes *multae tamen artis* to mean "and yet, although *ingenium* does not necessarily involve *ars*, the poem has it." But this is mere per-

¹ Sellar, *op. cit.*, 1881², pp. 279 f. The third edition, 1889, omits altogether this passage, and quotes Tyrrell *ad loc.*

² *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, p. 182, n. 1.

³ *Contr. I, praef.* 17.

⁴ F. Plessis, *La Poésie latine*, 1909, p. 123, esp. n. 3.

version of *tamen*? Pichon comments: ¹ "M. Plessis a essayé de justifier ce texte, en disant que *tamen* s'explique parce que le génie n'entraîne pas forcément l'art. Soit, mais il ne l'exclut pas non plus!"

III₅ Lastly, the idea may be something as follows: "Lucretius' poem is characterized by many *lumina ingeni*, yet [this is not all, though you might expect it would have been; it is characterized] by much *ars*" — and at once the question arises, why should anybody, or rather why should Cicero or Quintus expect the one must naturally be unaccompanied by the other?

III_{5a} Some scholars reply: Cicero may have thought of *ingenium* (inspiration) and *ars* (technique) as mutually independent, not to say incompatible.² To what extent, one naturally asks, does this attitude of mind appear in his other writings, or in those of other Romans of his day? Was it a concept borrowed from the Greeks, Alexandrine or classical, and if so, what is its history among them? These questions I must leave to more competent students of the history of criticism. To Professor Smyth I owe an interesting suggestion to the effect that, except in cases of special pleading, the Greek of the classical period may have tended rather to identify than to separate genius and art — for him *φύσις* and *τέχνη* imply each the other. If this is true, we shall naturally look elsewhere than in the classical period of Greece for the motive of such an attitude on Cicero's part. Certainly the Alexandrines were familiar with a distinction between *φύσις* and *τέχνη*; ³ to what extent did they make it an opposition? It was of an Alexandrine poet that Ovid wrote: ⁴ *quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet* — where *quamvis* rather implies that Ovid would have expected to find the two qualities united.

¹ *Les Travaux Récents sur la Biographie de Lucrèce*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1910 (VIII), p. 81, n. 1.

² Cp. Braun, quoted by Polle, *op. cit.*, *Philologus*, 1867 (XXV), p. 502; Munro, *op. cit.*, introd. to Notes II², 1866, pp. 328 ff.; Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 125, *ad loc.*; and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ Cp. Munro and Merrill, *l. cc.*

⁴ *Am.* I, 15, 14.

Here, then, the uncertainty comes on the questions: what degree of authority had Alexandrine opposition of *ars* and *ingenium* gained at Rome by the middle of the first century; what weight did Cicero or Quintus, or both of them, incline to give to it; and whether or not it had perhaps been matter of discussion between them.¹

III_{5b} Another reason why the Ciceros would not expect technique from Lucretius is sought by some scholars² in the known fact that Cicero admired Ennius and the earlier Latins, while despising heartily the later school: and they suppose that he identified Ennius and the rest with *ingenium* (inspiration), the *cantores Euphronis*,³ disciples of Alexandria, with *ars* (technique). Cicero, they argue, would think of Lucretius as an Ennian, one of the early school of Latin poets, and accordingly, would not expect to find technique in his work. All the latter part of this reasoning seems to be based on pure theory.

III_{5cd} I pass over thus hurriedly these suggestions as to why the Ciceros would not expect to find *ars* in Lucretius, because two other suggestions which I wish to take up in closing seem to presume an attitude of mind on their part so much more natural and inevitable as to leave little or no room for any such thought as this about a theoretical opposition between *φύσις* and *τέχνη*. In the multitude of alternative possibilities, we have to look, it would seem to me, for some attested detail with regard to Lucretius' life and production so marked, some characteristic so striking, as to influence strongly, if not altogether to control, the mind of the critic who contemplated his work: if that characteristic is so striking that it must certainly have been a powerful influence on the critic's mind, any interpretation which it motives becomes thereby the strongest of our probabilities; in proportion as it approaches the status of a paramount consideration, just so closely does the interpretation which hinges on it approach certainty.

¹ Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

² Cp. Munro, Tyrrell, and Merrill, *ll. cc.*

³ *Tusc.* 3, 45; cp. *Ov. Am.* 1, 15, 19.

c One such certain characteristic is taken up by Reitzenstein in *Drei Vermuthungen*, interpreting *ars* as the equivalent, not of τέχνη, but of τεχνολογία: "den *lumina ingenii*, den glänzenden poetischen Einlagen, stehen die vielen rein technischen Partien entgegen, welche nur der *ars*, dem System, dem Lehrbuch angehören."¹ This explanation seems to me to have a better basis of probability than any other of the proposed renderings. It does not, to be sure, make Cicero out a very subtle critic; but its condition is the undoubted fact that the reader of Lucretius certainly would not expect to find so much pure science combined with sustained passages of such splendid poetry. This is a thought which would naturally occur to a reader of the poem — what is more, it is almost sure to be the paramount thought² of one who approaches the poem *without knowing much about the poet himself*. But the Ciceros certainly had such knowledge.

d With them, I feel sure, another thought would have taken precedence: do we not find the missing cue so plain in sight that it is almost instinctively passed over? "... amatorio poculo," says St Jerome,³ "in furorem versus, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscribisset, quos postea Cicero emendavit, propria se manu interfecit..." Cicero and Quintus, that is, had had in their hands the composition of a *male sanus* written in his lucid intervals; they found in it *lumina ingeni*, the excellence characteristic of an unbalanced intellect, yet still the result of persistent application, artistic technique — a cosmogony, a refutation *ex concessis*, an atomic system, done, in Professor Saintsbury's phrase, as another might do an Odyssey or a story of Lancelot — and they naturally felt, and expressed, some surprise.⁴ The letter and the chronicle are, it would seem

¹ R. Reitzenstein, *Drei Vermuthungen zur Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Marburg, 1894, p. 55.

² One may verify this by going back to his own first impressions on reading the *De Rerum Natura*.

³ *Chronicon Eusebii*, under the year 1923 (1922) = B.C. 94 (95), Schöne 2, p. 133.

⁴ The translation, according to this view, would be substantially that proposed by Norden; see above, p. 153.

to me, exactly complementary; each illustrates and confirms the other. What, we may ask ourselves, would be the natural comment on work prosecuted under such a tremendous disadvantage? — would it not be that while, as might have been expected, it shows *lumina ingeni* ("flashes" of genius?¹), yet it shows nevertheless — and to a surprising degree — artistic technique? or quite in the words of Professor Merrill, from another context: "... it is hard to believe that a mind strong enough to conceive and work out a poem of such worth, could have suffered from intermittent insanity. . . ." ² Conversely, what other inference would naturally be drawn with regard to the mental state of a poet with whom inspiration is a matter of course, technique a surprise, than that he suffered from some malady or inertia which tended to disqualify him for the production of consistent and finished literary work?

This is not the place to attempt an exhaustive discussion of the doubts which have been raised with regard to the credibility of Jerome's assertion of Lucretius' insanity. They would seem to me to be characteristic rather of the spirit which inclines to deduce *a priori* the non-occurrence of a given event from the fact of its mention by an ancient authority. The few nearly contemporary *testimonia* which can have any bearing on the question³ are unanimous in suggesting, if they do not confirm, the traditional account. Of important arguments against it, two only have come to my notice.

In his discussion of Lactantius' estimate of Lucretius,⁴ Brandt urges with great skill the *argumentum ex silentio*; which in this case, as Pichon justly notes,⁵ seems to have more force than such arguments usually have. Any reader of Lactantius must see that his frequent characterization of Lucretius' tenets as *deliramenta* has no reference to

¹ Cp. Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry*, 1895, p. 74.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ E. g., Statius' *docti furor arduus Lucreti*, *Silv.* 2, 7, 77.

⁴ *Lactantius und Lucretius*, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1891 (CXLIII), pp. 246 ff.; cp. Brieger in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1896 (LXXXIX), pp. 195 ff., and 1900 (CV), p. 49.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Journal des Savants*, 1910 (VIII), p. 72; cp. Brieger, *op. cit.*, *Jahresbericht*, 1900 (CV), p. 49.

the tradition of his actual insanity; the same phrase is used again and again of almost any other thinker whose views chance to be out of harmony with Lactantius' own.¹

In the most striking of his apparent allusions to the tradition — "quis hunc [*sc.* Lucretium] putet habuisse cerebrum, cum haec diceret nec videret sibi esse contraria?"² — we might believe the emphasis to be on *putet*: "who would not guess anyway, without Suetonius' express testimony, that this poet was mad?" But *cum* must here be temporal: is there an allusion to the tradition of intermittent insanity?

Perhaps a hint at this aspect of the tradition appears in a passage³ not cited (I believe) by Brandt: "... merito igitur, cum haec a viris non imperitis nec rudibus fiant, Lucretius exclamat 'o stultas hominum mentes . . .' — quis haec ludibria non rideat qui habeat aliquid sanitatis, cum videat homines velut mente captos ea serio facere quae si quis faciat in lusu, nimis lascivus et ineptus esse videatur?"

Doubtless, however, it is mere chance coincidence, naturally to be expected, that a few among the many slurs on Lucretius should admit such constructions.⁴ But in the last analysis, it seems to me, Lactantius' ignorance of the circumstance of Lucretius' insanity, or his silence — remarkable as it is — if he knew, may be due to any one of a multitude of reasons; too many, in fact, to allow negative reasoning from these premises anything like decisive weight.⁵

The stock objection to the notice in the chronicle may be more briefly, if not more conclusively, dismissed. Its advocates find hard to believe the statement that a poem of such worth as the *De Rerum Natura* is the product of a mind suffering from intermittent insanity. All this amounts scarcely to a presumption. The force of the argument is broken by even a very superficial survey of literary history: its only motive turns out to be a probability which, carried to the limit, would

¹ For specific instances, see Brandt, *op. cit.*

² *De Ira D.* 10, 17; cp. Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

³ *Inst.* 1, 21, 48-49.

⁴ One who meditates upon the varied and vivid terms in which are couched Lactantius' diagnoses of the mental states of his adversaries, may be led to wonder, perhaps, just how much meaning actual insanity would have had for him, and if it had any, just what terms he would have devised for its definition!

⁵ Cp. Schanz, *op. cit.*, p. 40, *ad fin.*

unwrite in large part the works, *multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis*, of Pascal, Cowper, Nietzsche, Swift, Tasso, and Rousseau. Close parallels to Lucretius' state as described are the cases of Pascal, Cowper, and Nietzsche; all these writers produced some of their greatest work in the intervals of intermittent insanity. It may be that Swift's malady ought hardly to be defined as insanity: his attacks seem to have been in the nature possibly of some form of vertigo.¹ Tasso and Rousseau suffered rather from a continuous state of hallucination and melancholy.

Whoever accepts the tradition of insanity, thus instanced, should, I feel, have little hesitation in giving the mooted passage its natural rendering, *tamen* to be interpreted as the natural expression of a thought almost necessarily paramount in the critic's mind. So the translation, following Tyrrell's punctuation, will run: "Lucretius' poem, as you write, is characterized by many splendors of inspiration, yet nevertheless by much art; but till you come . . ."

¹ Cp. Stampini, *Il Suicidio di Lucrezio*, in *Rivista di storia antica e scienze affini*, 1896, vol. I, no. 4, p. 45. Stampini thinks Lucretius may have been an epileptic like Caesar, Mahomet, Victor Hugo, and Napoleon (p. 51, n. 1).